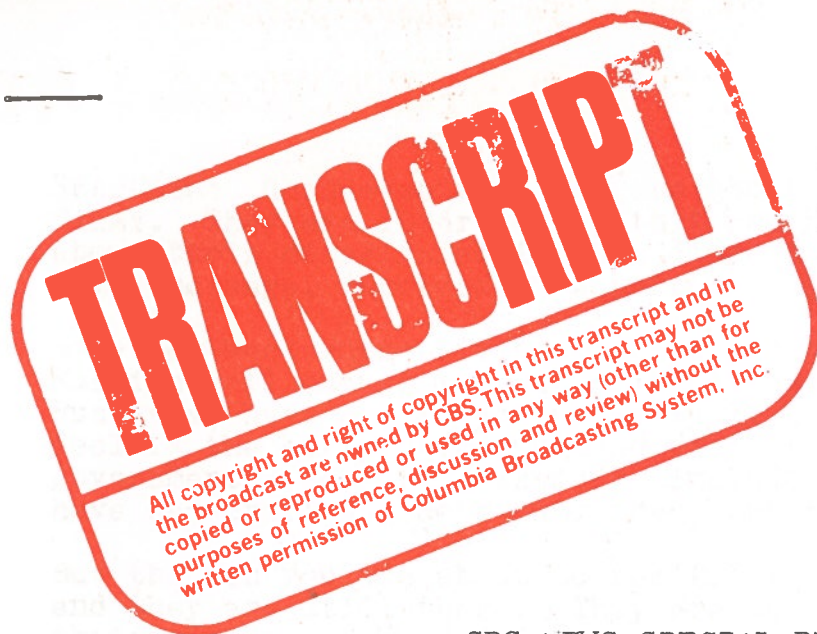




CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT

"Voices From The Russian Underground"

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With CBS NEWS Correspondents William Cole and Harry Reasoner

PRODUCED BY CBS NEWS

PRODUCER: Irv Drasnin

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Perry Wolff

REASONER: Good evening. You are about to see some extraordinary films. They are interviews with three Russians, filmed in Russia, about their dissatisfaction and dissent, and there is also a moving voice message, recorded in a prison camp and smuggled out.

Some few Westerners living in Russia occasionally get to know a Russian well enough to hear criticism of the government. Some few Russians, having escaped to the West, have talked about what they feel is the early decadence and vicious repression of their government. Some few Russians, including one man we will hear from, have had critical books published abroad.

But the men you are about to see talked for the camera in Russia, and they are still there. They are most exquisitely aware that their government knows of these interviews, and that officials of the Soviet government in the United States have television sets. They are aware that in the crowded 53 years of Soviet history, terrible things have happened to Russians for less than these men do tonight. But they want these films to be broadcast, because they feel this will focus attention on what they believe is increasing repression of themselves and other dissenters.

These films were made by CBS NEWS Correspondent William Cole who, a short time later, was expelled from Russia, perhaps coincidentally. Bill Cole is a reporter, not a photographer. On the technical quality of the films, the kindest thing we can say is that he really did very well. The key thing was his relationship with the men. We will hear from these men, and Bill Cole, in a moment.

ANNOUNCER: This is a CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: 'Voices From the Russian Underground,' with CBS NEWS Correspondents William Cole and Harry Reasoner.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: This is Bill Cole who, until very recently, was Chief of Bureau and Correspondent for CBS NEWS in Moscow, and filmed the interviews we're going to see tonight. Bill, why did you get kicked out of the Soviet Union?

COLE: Harry, I was told that my activities there were incompatible with my status as a journalist. Actually, the authorities gave me no explanation, and I didn't expect one.

REASONER: It could have something to do with these interviews?

COLE: I think it did.

REASONER: How did you get these films?

COLE: I got to know the Russians in these films, and they wanted these films made, to let the outside world know what's happening in that country.

REASONER: Who are they? What is it? Is it a large group of revolutionaries?

COLE: Not at all. They're not revolutionaries at all. They're good - they're good Russians, but they want change. They are members of what you - what they call the democratic movement, a movement fighting for basic human rights, civil liberties in the Soviet Union.

REASONER: How do they keep in touch with each other in a state like Russia?

COLE: They have an underground press, which they call Samizdat. They have a newspaper, for example, called the Chronicles. I've got an example of it here. It's not a newspaper, actually; it's - it's a typed letter, and it circulates in the thousands. One man gets a copy of it, and he types four more copies and gives them to his friends. Of course it's illegal, and it's dangerous to be caught with it.

REASONER: For these men this will be the biggest samizdat they've ever had, then?

COLE: It will, and that's what they want it to be.

REASONER: Who are we going to see and hear?

COLE: Well, the first man you'll see is Pyotr Yakir. He's 48 years old and a dedicated Communist. He wants change from within. He has spent 13 years in concentration camps, and he is what you might call the non-titular head of the democratic movement. He was put into a camp the first time when he was 14, because he was his father's son. His father was General Jan Yakir, a very celebrated general of the Soviet Army. Stalin decided that Yakir should be shot. He was taken out of bed one night and shot.

REASONER: Yakir begins by speaking of a famous recent trial.

COLE: Yes, Pioris believes that a change came in Russian opinion in 1966, with the illegal trials of two well-known Russian writers, Sinyavsky and Daniel.

REASONER: He also, of course, speaks in Russian, but as we listen to him, and in these other interviews, the translation will be by David Floyd, of the London Telegraph, an expert on Soviet affairs. Let's listen to Mr. Yakir.

YAKIR: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): The most important turning point in the way people are thinking was when Daniel and Sinyavsky were arrested. Many educated people thought Daniel and Sinyavsky had done wrong by sending their writings abroad, and following their trial and after Samizdat - Samizdat refers to the system by which people simply reproduce and pass from hand to hand various writings - published the first speeches of Daniel and Sinyavsky, there came about a striking change, because both Sinyavsky and Daniel spoke about what they thought. They had written down what they believed, and didn't consider themselves guilty. And many people began to think: really, why should people be tried for their convictions? Why, simply for what he thinks, does a man have to be arrested? It was very similar to Stalin times, when people were sent to prison not even for what they thought, but for what they were thought to believe, and had not said to anybody, but it had somehow been proved that they were dissenters. So from that time on there were protests.

And then there was the trial of Galanskov and Ginzburg, and that was the time of the greatest enthusiasm, because firstly a great many people protested against the fact that the trial was held illegally and behind closed doors. During the trial the situation changed a great deal. Whereas during the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel it had been impossible to approach foreign correspondents - the vigilantes would take people straight off to the police - at the Moscow City Court we all discussed the affair with the correspondents. True, they wouldn't let us in anywhere, but a certain contact was established, and everything we learned we passed on immediately to the correspondents. The trial ended, and against it there were a great many protests. More than 2,000 people put their names to various letters of protest against conviction of people for their beliefs. Sometime - about the same time, during the trial, Larissa Daniel and Pavel Litvinov handed correspondents a protest against the trial and appealing to world public opinion. That was the first, major step, which was a breach with all previous traditions. Never before in Russia had there been a case of people appealing to the West with a protest against unlawfulness in our country.

This is a great stride forward compared with Stalinism. Under Stalin there was always an iron curtain, and no one knew what was going on here. Millions of people were destroyed and nobody knew about it. Now we're trying to publicize every arrest, every dismissal. This we consider our main function - that is, informing people about what is going on and of those illegal acts. We consider this the main task of the day.

Here is what I think. We are all being arrested - those who took part in the democratic movement - but that's not the point. We are apparently being arrested because it doesn't suit the authorities to have people about who criticize them. But there's no going back. If we're not here there'll be others; there are already many of us, many young people, and no independent thinking people in the Soviet

Union will go back to what used to be. They'll beat us and they'll kill us. All the same people will go on thinking differently.

REASONER: Pyotr Yakir, one of three Russian dissenters, interviewed by Correspondent Bill Cole. Bill, Yakir said, "They will beat us and they will kill us." Has anything happened to these men?

COLE: Yes, Harry. The man you are about to see next was picked up by the KGV, the secret police, only a few weeks ago. He's now in prison awaiting trial. His name is Andre Amalrik. He's a 31-year-old historian and writer who's been published all over the world, never in his own country, and he's just published an amazing book, called "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" This is an amazing book because it was written in Russia. Other writers - other Russian writers have written such books criticizing the system and telling exactly - telling about it as it is, but mostly from abroad, in safe places, but Andre has been awaiting arrest, and - and now it's happened.

REASONER: You had some trouble getting part of the film of this interview out of Russia, didn't you?

COLE: Yes, I had a great deal. I had Andre on film, and I tried to take it out not long ago and I was searched very thoroughly in customs. The film was seized and developed. I've heard in Moscow that it's going to be used at his trial.

REASONER: Will we hear about that trial?

COLE: I'm beginning to wonder. The secret police have a new trick now. They don't have trials in Moscow. Andre was not taken back to Moscow, where he lives, but he was taken down to a provincial city, Sverdlovsk, and we may never hear what happens to him.

REASONER: Now, the fact that you had to re-shoot this interview will account for the change of scene that we'll notice, and also there's a lady in the film.

COLE: That's his wife, Giselle. She's a charming girl, and a painter. She's never been allowed to exhibit in her own country, because her art is not - doesn't fit the party line.

REASONER: Let's look at Mr. and Mrs. Amalrik.

COLE: Mr. Amalrik, why did you decide to write this book called "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?"

AMALRIK: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): I think there were three main reasons why I decided to write that book and to try and - try and get it published. The first was my concern for the fate of my country. It was, alas, some years ago that I started to be concerned at the fact that my country was heading for a catastrophe in the not too distant future, and I wrote about it on two occasions to the editors of Russian newspapers in Moscow, but I received the most unconvincing replies, and then I decided to find another way of gaining publicity for my views. In the second place, since, as I understand it, my book would appear abroad mainly, and would be distributed principally there, I set myself the objective of refuting those current and inaccurate ideas about my country which are widespread, mainly in the United States, that is, about the liberalization of the Soviet regime which is allegedly taking place. And thirdly, I had the same reason as any author has who writes a book: given that these ideas had come into my head, it was natural that I should want to write about them.

What is really happening in the Soviet regime, in my opinion, is not that it is getting more liberal but getting more senile. Liberalization would presuppose conscious reform, whereas in reality the regime is more and more losing control over the situation in the country. From the point of view of the Americans the Soviet regime exercises far greater control over its country than, say, the American country does over its. But for a totalitarian regime the degree of control is already insufficient. Well, as an example I can cite the unusual popularity of Samizdat. That's the distribution in typewritten form of uncensored writings. This doesn't happen because the regime takes a liberal view of such things or deliberately permits it, but simply because the regime can't do anything about this problem, mainly because there's been an extraordinary increase in the number of people with education, and in the importance of the role played by educated people in - in modern society, and this intelligentsia can no longer and will no longer be satisfied with the miserable official writings which are offered.

COLE: What do ordinary people think of this regime?

AMALRIK: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD: (INTERPRETING): I have had a lot to do with factory workers and farm workers, and it seems to me that they haven't really begun to think over the nature of this system at all - it seems to them it's always been like this and it always will be. But at the same time there's evidence of very deep dissatisfaction with particular aspects of the regime, and, well, this can assume the most varied forms. Some are dissatisfied because they receive extremely little money by comparison with others, so they don't have enough to live on. Others are dissatisfied because they can't buy anything for the relatively high wages they earn. The farm workers are dissatisfied with their lack of civil rights, in that they cannot leave the villages. The factory workers are dissatisfied with their complete dependence on the factory managements. People living in small towns are dissatisfied because they can't - they don't have the right to move

to bigger towns when there's no work in the small ones. And gradually some people, at all events, begin to have the idea that all these local, smaller problems have their origins in the imperfections of the political system under which we live.

What may lead to a revolution is the utter lack of good sense in the upper class which is trying to avoid any change and to prevent society from having any mobility, which is always striving to preserve and make permanent the breakup of our society into tightly closed castes.

COLE: Mr. Amalrik, the United States is vilified every day in the Soviet press, on Soviet television, and on radio here. America is pictured to Russians as a land where everyone's starving, where there's no freedom, and as the enemy. Why is this?

AMALRIK: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): If the regime is to make itself look attractive in the eyes of its own people, it must constantly depict in the most repulsive light all other countries, especially the economically advanced ones. And it has to be said that for a considerable time now, this - this approach, this method, has been effective. For example, I have had occasion to hear Russian farm workers saying something like this: "Oh, well, life's very bad for us, but we are at least able to eat potatoes every day, and sometimes they bring us some kerosine. But how on earth do people live in the capitalist countries? There's probably nothing at all to eat there."

COLE: What did the average Russian think when Americans landed on the moon?

AMALRIK: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): I think people reacted in different ways, various ways. Some rejoiced at it, as a great victory, not just for the Americans but for the whole of mankind. Others took it rather badly, because for ten years the Soviet people had had it drummed into them that the first man to set foot on the moon would be a Soviet man and that this would be final, complete proof of the superiority of the socialist system.

COLE: Is it true that opponents of the regime here are put into mental hospitals to get rid of them?

AMALRIK: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): Yes, it's true. I think it's the most disgusting thing that this regime does. At the same time, it seems to me this is a clear indication of the complete ideological capitulation of the regime in the face of its opponents, if the

regime can't find anything else to do with them but to declare them to be out of their minds. I am well acquainted with a number of people who have been put into psychiatric hospitals and certified as being not responsible for their actions. There's General Grigorenko, then there's Ivan Yakhimovich. The same fate now threatens Natalia Gorbansvaskaya. And I want to say that these are perfectly normal, clear-thinking people, and they have been meted out a terrible fate. They have to live there among genuinely deranged people, and moreover for an utterly undefined period, since the period of detention in a psychiatric hospital is not laid down in the sentence of the court.

But I consider that no system of rule by force can exist without people who are ready to submit to that rule. And if we don't want the rule of force to prevail, we must all fight against it, and not just say the regime is bad, that we have to suffer, and so forth. It - it is a bad system, but that doesn't absolve us of blame for its being bad.

COLE: You seem rather dissatisfied. Would you like to leave the Soviet Union?

AMALRIK: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): I'm dissatisfied with this political system, but this is the country in which I was born, and I hope that in due course everything will change. No, I don't want to leave this country. It's another question whether if I'd been able to make a choice before my birth, then I would have preferred to be born in another country.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: Andre Amalrik, the author, the second of the three Russians that we're watching tonight, spoke of the use of mental hospitals as a kind of a prison for dissenters. We've heard about that in this country. Is it fairly common?

COLE: It's widespread in the Soviet Union, and actually, the man you're about to see is a man who knows insane asylums very well. He's a young dissident, 27 years old. He spent six of those 27 years in insane asylums, prisons, concentration camps. His name is Vladimir Bukovsky.

REASONER: What was his offense?

COLE: Well, his crimes were poetry reading. The first time he was sent to an insane asylum was because he was found to possess a book, an anti-Communist book written by a well-known Communist of the time, a book called "The New Class" by the Yugoslav, Milovan Djilas.

REASONER: He went to prison for that?

COLE: Yes.

REASONER: You interviewed him outdoors. Why, Bill?

COLE: Well, by that time the secret police knew that I was filming, and I was under close surveillance, as Bukovsky is right now, as he's been for - ever since last January, when he got out of his last stretch of prison. So we found a secluded wood outside Moscow, screened in by - by brush, and we filmed there.

REASONER: Let's go to the Moscow woods and Mr. Bukovsky.

COLE: What is life like for a dissident like yourself inside an insane asylum?

BUKOVSKY: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): Imagine to yourself a prison - an old prison, which was a prison even before the Revolution - in which there are something like a thousand prisoners, more than half of them murderers, people who've committed serious crimes at a time when they were out of their minds, people who are genuinely sick, and the remainder who are political prisoners, dissidents, for whom no article could be found in the criminal code, whom they could find no other way of treating but in such a place.

The fact is that the inmates, the patients in that hospital, the prisoners, are people who have done such things which from the point of view of the authorities are crimes, but which are not criminal from the point of view of the law. And in order in some way to isolate them, to punish them in some way, such people are declared to be insane and are detained as patients in these mental prison hospitals. Some time passed before I understood this and before I got to know with my fellow prisoners. I believe this is the usual fate for a person who wishes to be himself, who wants to say what he thinks, to act in accordance with his convictions and his ideas. Events of recent years confirm my supposition. Many people, tens, hundreds of people, have been declared insane and committed to various hospitals, mainly special ones, like those in Kazan, Leningrad, Chernigov, Sechotka, and so forth.

It's very much more difficult to get out of that place than it is to get into it. Firstly, in order to get out you must declare openly and officially to the doctors that you admit that you are sick - "Yes, I was - I'm ill, I didn't know what I was doing." And the second condition is to admit that you were wrong, to disavow what you did. I know of several cases of people who refused to say that they had done wrong and spent many long years in the hospital.

Nikolai Samsonov, for example, a geophysicist from Leningrad, who was kept there simply because he refused to admit he was a sick man. Another of my friends in the madhouse was, for example, a French Communist of Rumanian origin who had lived for more than ten years in Marseille and who came to the Soviet Union to learn, to see what communism was like in practice. He went to work in a footwear factory in Moldavia, and worked there for a long time. But he was displeased that the workers there received such low wages. He told his workmates that they ought to fight for better pay. They went on strike. He was arrested and declared insane. In the hospital he just couldn't understand what had happened to him, how Communists could do such things. For him, communism and the struggle for a better life were more or less the same thing. He just couldn't understand, and towards the end of his stay he really began to go out of his mind, it seems to me, because he was telling everybody that the Soviet government was under the influence of the Vatican.

I had a lot of friends there and their fate, all their cases, were proof for me that the people who landed up in that hospital were those who had done things for which they couldn't be brought to court, who had committed no offense, and the hospital was simply a means of getting rid of them, of putting them out of sight. The hospital regime was similar to any prison regime. An hour's exercise a day, locked cells, outside visitors once a month, one letter a month to relatives, one parcel a month, exactly the same as in a prison. The doctors themselves realized that it was not a hospital but a prison, and sometimes they said so openly. If a patient misbehaved, he could be punished.

COLE: How are dissidents treated in an insane asylum?

BUKOVSKY: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): It was very easy to get into trouble in that hospital, and the punishments were very severe. There are three kinds of punishment which are most commonly applied there. The first type is carried out by medical means. I think people know about a preparation known as Sulfazine, which is used if one of the patients, one of the prisoners in the hospital committed some offense, gave a doctor a rude answer to some question or declared that a doctor in the hospital was no better than an executioner in a white smock. Such a remark would be sufficient to involve punishment. Sulfazine is a pretty painful form of punishment. It causes your temperature to rise to about 40 degrees Centigrade, you feel you have a fever, can't get out of bed or move about, and it goes on for a day or two. If the treatment is repeated, then the effects can last a whole week or - or even ten days.

A second form of punishment involves the use of the preparation Aminazine, used in psychotherapy, also known, probably, in other countries. It causes the patient to feel drowsy, sleepy. He may sleep several days on end, and if the treatment is given regularly

he may go on sleeping for as long as it is continued. The third form of punishment we used to call - to call the "roll-up." It involved the use of wet canvas, long - long pieces of it, in which the patient is rolled up from head to foot so tightly that it was difficult for him to breathe, and as the canvas began to dry out it would get tighter and tighter and make the patient feel even worse. But that punishment was applied with some caution. There were medical men present while it was taking place who made sure that the patient did not lose consciousness, and if his pulse began to weaken then the canvas would be released.

Altogether, the medical forms of punishment were pretty widely used, and it was sufficient for a patient to appear cheerful or, on the contrary, miserable, show dissatisfaction or too calm - any deviation which might appear suspicious to the psychiatrists - to give them grounds for believing that he was ill - that would be sufficient for them to start using those treatments.

COLE: Well, what is life like for you here now? Are you harassed by the secret police?

BUKOVSKY: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): I was released from the camp in January, 1970, but I did not change my opinions, and I did not give up my activity. I continue to do what I was doing before, and therefore it's possible that I shall be arrested any day. I can be arrested at any moment, when I meet foreign correspondents, when I am distributing written material forbidden in the Soviet Union, and in other circumstances. It doesn't matter what excuse the authorities find for arresting me. The reason is unimportant for them. There's a saying in the camps: so long as they've got the man, they'll always find the law to fix him. Of course, I know I am being followed, my telephone is always tapped, I feel that I am constantly under observation by the authorities. When I have to do something that I don't want the authorities to know about I manage to get away from them. But it's pretty difficult in general. I am unable to get the sort of work I like doing, if only because I am sufficiently well known, or because in my identity card there is a mark which tells anyone that I've been in prison.

I am often asked about the prospects for change in this country, what we hope to get from our activity, how many supporters we have, and these are understandable, legitimate questions. But they are very difficult to answer. You have to understand first of all what's the essence of our struggle. The essence of it is, in my view, the struggle against fear, the fear which has gripped the people since the time of Stalin, which has still not left people, and thanks to which this system continues to exist, the system of dictatorship, of pressure, of oppression. It's into the struggle against fear that we put our greatest efforts, and in that struggle great importance attaches to personal example, the example which we give people. I personally did what I considered right, spoke out on those occasions when I wanted to, and I'm alive, I am now sitting here and not in prison. I'm alive, I can get about, I can live. For me and for

many people that's very important - it shows that it's possible to fight, and that it is necessary to fight.

REASONER: Bill, we've seen three Russians who willingly put themselves into hazard to make these films. What's apt to happen to them?

COLE: Harry, I think these three men are in serious trouble. The Soviet state simply does not permit criticism. Of course, the authorities might wait six months, maybe a year; they'll wait until the furor dies down, and these men will be picked up. They'll go back to the mental hospitals or to the concentration camps where they were before.

REASONER: They knew that was going to - it was a possibility, when they agreed and urged the interviews?

COLE: Actually, a couple of times I said, look, let's - let's throw this film away. They said, no, regardless of the consequences, we want it shown.

REASONER: Bill, you brought out a message from a man who went through something like this, didn't you?

COLE: Yes, Harry. When I was expelled from Moscow I brought out on my person a small tape that came from the labor camps in the far north. It was a tape made by a very celebrated Russian writer, Alexander Ginzburg, who was imprisoned in 1967 for protesting other trials of other writers. And you asked me what these three Russians we saw tonight can expect. I think that this message tells what they can expect.

REASONER: How did you know this was Ginzburg on the tape?

COLE: I played it for friends of his in Moscow who verified, who confirmed that it was his voice.

REASONER: And the first voice we hear is another - another prisoner, a Lithuanian?

COLE: Yes. A Lithuanian who spoke a little bit of English, who introduced Ginzburg.

REASONER: Let's hear some of this message from inside.

VOICE: This recording was made under complicated camp conditions.

GINZBURG: (Speaks in Russian)

FLOYD (INTERPRETING): In this concentration camp, for lack of medical aid, sixteen political prisoners have perished recently. Here there is only one doctor from among the prisoners. The rights of man are violated, thousands of people are deprived of their freedom, and everyone goes in danger of his life.

I have just accompanied on his last journey my friend Jan Matusha. Three months ago the Estonian Ans Frantz died.

For six months now have been languishing in the Vladimir prison - that living grave - my friends Yuri Daniel and Valeri Ronkin. Several dozen of our friends were arrested in Moscow recently. Camps, prisons, and the death of those near to us - that is what we are surrounded by, and nevertheless we hope to hold out. We are sustained, not by the so-called decisive stand of the Soviet Union, nor by the good will of the governments of the great powers, but by the wrath, protest and solidarity of all honest people, of all who hold dear the dignity of man, democracy and peace. In decisive resistance to modern barbarism I see the only real guarantee that the rights of man will be observed, here and throughout the world.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: Any of us who have seen a Chekov play know that understanding Russia and the Russians is not always easy. Here to try to help us understand better are two authorities on Soviet politics and literature who bring a special knowledge of the voices of dissent that we've heard tonight. Patricia Blake is an authority on Russian literature. She has written extensively on Soviet dissent, and is the author of several books, including "Dissident Voices in Soviet Literature." She is a contributing editor to TIME Magazine. Abraham Brumberg probably is as familiar as any American with the dissident movement in Soviet Russia, and he is now writing a book on political opposition in the Soviet Union. For many years editor of the journal, Problems of Communism, he most recently edited a collection of Russian documents entitled "In Quest of Justice: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union Today." We asked the official Soviet news agency in New York to send a representative to comment on these interviews. They declined.

One thing that interests me, with two people who know about as much about Russia as you can from this far away, what was the - what was the impact of those interviews? Miss Blake?

BLAKE: Shattering, really. One has the impression of such nobility and purity and heroism. I think it must be reading them and hearing them and hearing them speak was an ennobling experience, I think, for Americans.

REASONER: Who are the people that we're talking about? What do the three people that we saw and the one that we heard represent? Mr. Brumberg?

BRUMBERG: Well, I think we saw three representatives of what I would call the free, untrammelled spirits of Russia. It is a phenomenon which is as characteristic of the Soviet Union as it was of pre-Revolutionary Russia. These are people who are fired by a passion against injustice. They may endure injustices for a long time, they may be silent, but when they do finally speak out, nothing is going to stop them. They will court arrest, imprisonment, exile, possibly even execution, for their beliefs. I think this is a very, I think, as Pat said, a very ennobling phenomenon, and a very moving and a very typical Russian type that we saw.

REASONER: Well, now, if they're characteristic of a type of Russian, what about the reaction of the regime to them? Is that characteristically Russian?

BRUMBERG: Well, I would say that too is characteristically Russian, yes. Of course, we have to distinguish between the reaction of the regime in Stalin's days, and the reaction to - of the regime since Stalin's days. Under Stalin, any dissent would have been absolutely unthinkable; even the slightest flutter of skepticism or disagreement would be suppressed, so that speaking up was unthinkable. Since Stalin's death, we have seen the rise of what might be called a public opinion in the Soviet Union. It is still very small. These people still are very much persecuted by the regime. In fact, if anything, there has been a reversal from a relatively lenient policy that existed in the last years of Khrushchev's reign, to more and more repression. It is not the kind of repression that was practiced by Stalin, but it is - has still very grievous effects.

REASONER: They spread their word among themselves by means of this underground newspaper. How many of them are there, would you guess, in percentage terms. If there were an election, a free election, in Russia today, would they be a major third party, or second party?

BLAKE: You know, it's very hard to judge - incalculable, even if there were sociology, even if there were polls in Russia, it's really hard to measure the thrust and influence of ideas on people. And sometimes ideas take a long time to mature. But in the words and resonances which will not be seen immediately. But later on, and we've seen this movement develop in an extraordinary way. The numbers - it's hard to say - you have heard numbers from a hundred to ten thousand, just hard core people engaged in an active way in this democratic movement.

BRUMBERG: May I, perhaps, add one other thing, that we ought to distinguish between the active dissenters and their passive collaborators. I think that the very existence of a newspaper such

as the Chronicle of Current Events attests to the fact that there are people who, while they may not be necessarily willing to put their signatures on some of the petitions, protests; nevertheless will help out a great deal in circulating, informing the editors of this newspaper of reprisals of what has been going on in the camps. For instance one of the most fascinating items that we read in this Chronicle, are hunger strikes, political protests within the labor camps in the Soviet Union. How do these items get out from the camps? We don't know. But I think it's safe to assume that there are quite a few people who are willing to collaborate with the dissenters in making their word known throughout the world.

REASONER: How typical is a - is a fairly harsh punishment? Mr. Ginzburg spoke, in the tape from the labor camp, of dozens of his friends, of more than a dozen deaths in recent months. Does a Soviet intellectual stand a fair chance of winding up in jail?

BLAKE: A Soviet dissident intellectual, certainly.

REASONER: Part of what the people we heard from tonight are saying is that they are merely demanding the freedoms that they technically have. Is that correct? There's nothing unconstitutional about what they did?

BRUMBERG: That's precisely their strongest weapon, the existence on paper of legal rights. The constitution of the Soviet Union is one of the most democratic and liberal constitutions in the world. It promises freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and when these dissenters speak up, they point to the fact that what they are demanding is in effect observance of Soviet laws. They know very well that these Soviet laws are not observed, are violated and abused continuously.

BLAKE: This, by the way, is a completely new element in Russian dissent. I say Russian, not only Soviet dissent. In the absence of any institutions, any democratic institutions, pressure groups and so on, in which you can make yourself heard, what you - since you're helpless to do anything else, you take these existing institutions and try and make them fulfill their ideal original function. And this is the strategy.

REASONER: They - they also don't seem to be internationalists, particularly, are they? They're very Russian.

BRUMBERG: Well, you know, one of the major areas of dissent, not the most, but one of the causes the dissenters have taken up is the invasion of Czechoslovakia. This is - this was very important about a year ago. We have quite a few documents protesting, and cases of individuals and groups, and even a demonstration in Red Square. Small, to be sure, but typical of the passion.

REASONER: What do you make so far of the reaction of the government? Do you - how do you judge which way they will go? Will they tolerate more dissent or less?

BLAKE: You know, the government is in a terrible dilemma. What we've seen in the last year suggests that without far greater doses of terror, the influence of these people cannot be controlled. It's not sufficient to arrest two or three. As Yakir said himself: "They will kill us, they will beat us, but people will go on thinking differently." But if they choose to reinstitute the whole machinery of mass police terror that we had under Stalin, then they would pay a very high price for it. And I think they are very much aware of that. For one thing, those people who are living in the Kremlin today know full well that if they reinstitute this machine of terror, they may be among the first to be devoured by it. And secondly, the whole thrust of Soviet policy in the '50s and '60s has been to try and give Soviet citizens some incentives for creative technology, in the sciences, for the worker, and if you reimpose terror, then you have a - a submissiveness which lacks any sort of dynamic. You cannot rule without an internal dynamic of some sort.

REASONER: What about the Russian man on the street, if there is such a thing? What would - what would these interviews mean to him? Would he sympathize, or is he - is he happy with his generally better material lot?

BRUMBERG: Well, it's very difficult to answer this question. I'm sure there are those who would regard some of these people as - just as intellectuals, with whom the ordinary people have very little in common. On the other hand, I think we have to remember that there exists a vast reservoir of grievances and dissatisfaction - Amalrik spoke about it. The peasants are dissatisfied; the workers are dissatisfied. And not only because of economic grievances, but also because of social and political repressions that are practiced against them. And I think the future, in my opinion, of this whole movement of dissent, the democratic movement, will depend very largely on the links that the intellectuals will or will not be able to establish with the ordinary people.

REASONER: If you could put yourself into somebody else's shoes, suppose an official and believing member of the Soviet regime was in our group tonight. What would his reaction be? How would he explain those films?

BLAKE: I think the refusal of Soviet officials to come here suggests that they would be unable to cope with the questions raised so eloquently by those three dissenters and by Ginzburg in prison.

REASONER: What will the - what will the reaction be, officially and in the Soviet Union, to this broadcast, and to other television use which will probably be made of it?

BRUMBERG: Oh, I think the Soviet authorities are going to be very displeased. They usually tend to dismiss the dissenters more or less as psychiatrically - more or less as misfits, as social misfits, and as representing nobody but themselves. This is their usual way of coping. But they are very well aware that these people are not misfits, but on the contrary they are the most - they are the most articulate, perhaps the most intelligent of the Soviet intellectuals today, and that they are faced with a very serious ferment within Soviet society. And this is why they are going to be quite displeased with bringing that ferment out on the television screen.

REASONER: Will the - will wide attention for these men help them? I mean, will it protect them?

BLAKE: Well, who knows, it will probably protect them for a time. Certainly people like Pasternak, for example, who was protected by his winning the Nobel Prize, by publicity in the West. But sooner or later, the KGB, which operates in some ways independently from the political leadership, it prepares its cases, and it waits until the political time is right for them to move.

BRUMBERG: I would say this, that the more formidable the stature of the dissenter, the greater the chances of an outcry in the West as a deterrent to further reprisals. A man like Solzhenitsyn, though deprived of any possibility of publishing, and making himself known within the Soviet Union, nevertheless because of his worldwide reputation, and also because of his reputation inside the Soviet Union, has thus far been left relatively alone. The smaller, the less significant the dissenter, the greater will be the weight of the police apparatus upon him.

BLAKE: It hasn't saved Amalrik, has it?

REASONER: Amalrik charged his government with a kind of a senility, which is a strange thing for a revolutionary movement to gain in - in half a century. Is this a characteristic of communism, do you think, or a characteristic of Russia?

BRUMBERG: Oh, that's a very difficult question to answer. I think it's a characteristic of Russian communism.

REASONER: Thank you very much.

ANNOUNCER: "Voices From The Russian Underground" will continue.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: We have seen three unique interviews with Russian dissenters, filmed in Russia, filmed by William Cole before his expulsion from Moscow - CBS NEWS Correspondent who makes rather a good photographer. Thank you, Bill.

The Russians have compressed whole eras of national development into their half century of communism, from the rough, new enthusiasm of revolution through the terror of psychotic dictatorship to a period of great pride in material achievement, and now, these Russian critics of the government say, to a kind of old age of communism, a stultification of bureaucracy and repression. The critics obviously hate to see it happen. They spoke their risky pieces to Bill Cole's camera out of patriotism and love, not enmity. Even though some of the sentiments of these dissenters sound like a highly intensified version of what our dissenters say about the United States, it's difficult for Americans to understand a society where criticism of the government is a crime. But in the next few years, how well America understands Russia could make all the difference to the world. Tonight, Comrades Yakir, Amalrik, Bukovsky and Ginzburg have helped.

ANNOUNCER: This has been a CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: "Voices From The Russian Underground."